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country to widespread wars, famine, insurrection, treachery, and so on through the whole category of evils which afflict the human race.

China and Japan, which had had experience with such guests, have done wisely in limiting their intercourse, the former permitting access to her coasts but not entrance into the interior, the latter granting access only to a single European people, the Dutch, whom, however, like prisoners, they shut out from intercourse with the natives. The worst of the matter (or rather, from the standpoint of the moral judge, the best) is, that they get no satisfaction out of this violence, that all these commercial societies are on the point of going to pieces, that the Sugar Islands, the seat of the most shocking and complete slavery, yield no real profit, but only an indirect and at the same time undesirable one, namely, the furnishing of sailors for war-fleets, through whom they assist in carrying on wars in Europe. Thus these powers, which make a great show of piety, drink injustice like water and at the same time wish themselves to be considered as the very elect in the Orthodox faith.

Since the community of the nations of the earth, in a narrower or broader way, has advanced so far that an injustice in one part of the world is felt in all parts, the idea of a cosmopolitical right is no phantastic and strained form of the conception of right, but necessary to complete the unwritten code, not only of the rights of states but of peoples as well, so as to make it coextensive with the rights of men in general, through the establishment of which perpetual peace will come. It is useless to flatter oneself that perpetual peace can be brought nearer and nearer under any other conditions.

CONTINUED NEXT MONTH.

SCHOOL HISTORIES AND INTERNATIONAL ANIMOSITIES.

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Samuel Plimsoll, M. P. (the originator of the "Plimsoll line," which marks the limit to which vessels may be legally loaded), has been looking into the causes of the "unjust dislike that Americans have for the mother country." "We in England," he says, "have no such feeling toward America. . . . I believe the prejudice starts with children, and is taught to them from school histories, that misstate facts; and in these histories I think the remedy lies."

Mr. Plimsoll, in this belief, has examined the school histories in use in England; and his report, issued by the United States Bureau of Education, is now obtainable. The *New England Magazine* for February last contained the substance of this report, as well as several of Mr. Plimsoll's extracts from the English text-books examined. In thirty-four of these he finds not the slightest unkind allusion to the United States. Of American histories, however, he is reported as saying, "I have been told, and believe, that many of them are unfair, that they foster a wrong feeling toward the mother country."

But Mr. Plimsoll, not relying on such a general preconception, has delayed final decision till he should have examined our books with the same thoroughness as the English. It is with this purpose that he has come to America, and it is interesting to look into the subject for ourselves—to anticipate, if possible, the results of his investigation. Are school histories in this country so un-

fair as he alleges? so liable to rouse in children that "wrong feeling" which undeniably does exist? For every American boy, at some time, from some source, acquires a vigorous hatred for "redcoats" and British—a hatred that later years seldom entirely eradicate. Is the cause of this to be found in the school-books? and, if so, is it an evil inherent in the presentation of the facts, or a mere accident, to be avoided by moderation and discrimination?

Before considering what the text-books really say, we should note that there are, in our relation to England, elements which, to a young and emotional reader, might cause a book really very moderate to inspire patriotism most intolerantly aggressive.

In Mr. Plimsoll's extracts from English books occur the following sentences: "The government sent out soldiers to force the Americans to pay taxes." "The chief causes . . . are to be sought in the high notions of prerogative held by George III., in his infatuated and stubborn self-will, and in the equally absurd self-conceit of his English subjects." "'Taxation without representation is tyranny' became the watchword of the brave patriots who were to fight in America for the self-same rights that Englishmen of old had wrung from the tyrant John, the haughty Edward, and the reluctant Charles I." "The ministers, who had not yet learned wisdom, placed new taxes on tea." It pleases us to read such statements in English books, and undoubtedly the English boy who reads them is impressed with the unpleasant fact that his ancestors were unwise and unjust. But these same statements would rouse in an American boy a keen resentment. They tell of oppression and injustice exercised upon his ancestors by the English. He is the one that is hurt—it is hardest for him to forgive. Human nature, especially juvenile human nature, makes the reader alert in sympathy for the under dog, especially when, as in this case, the under dog is *his* dog. It is, in other words, easier for the English boys to read forgivingly of the resentment and rebellion of the colonists—provoked by English injustice—than it is for American boys to read, without symptoms of sympathetic resentment, of the injustice that provoked it. A sentence that in an English book evinces, by frank confession of an injustice, the best of feeling toward America, might, in an American book, by pointing out that very injustice, inspire hostility to England. The American historian, then, must be fairer to the English than they need to be to themselves. He must allow for the instinctive prejudices of his readers.

The writer of this paper has examined carefully ten histories in common use in American schools. He has read, more or less carefully, many more. He began his examination with the impression that the books were prejudiced and unfair; he ended it feeling that, while prejudice was roused, it was not roused by intentional unfairness or misstatement.

One may, indeed, well dismiss, from the first, the charge of misstatement. Few histories misstate, and those that do are not those most in vogue. True, most err on minor points; few, however, err with the direct end or result of misrepresenting the attitude of England to America. The per cent. of real misstatement is so small as to be ignored.

There is more injustice of omission. The employment of Indians by the British is described, sometimes in very strong terms; but there is little or no mention of the em-

ployment of Indians by the Americans, or of outrages committed by American troops. In dealing with the war of 1812 much is made of the massacre of the River Raisin, little of the American "atrocities" which provoked this. And there is a general failure to call attention to the fact that only a part of the English people sympathized with King and Parliament in their oppressive measures, or that the Government could even claim, in the expenses of the French and Indian wars, some warrant for their taxation of the protected colonists. Of such omissions Mr. Plimsoll may justly complain.

But he should, none the less, note that not many books can be charged with such omissions. He should note, in one book, this passage:

It must not be supposed that these severe and unreasonable acts passed Parliament without strong and vigorous opposition. The King and his Prime Minister had a majority of Parliament in favor of their extreme measures of opposition to the colonies; but, with only two or three exceptions, all the eminent and shining lights of the country, under the leadership of Edmund Burke, were strongly opposed to these unjust measures of the Government, and persistently advocated the rights of the colonies.

And, in another, this, which no less places blame where it belongs:

George III., a narrow-minded and obstinate young king, was now on the throne of Great Britain. He hated Pitt, the friend of America, and his ruling purpose was to exalt kingly authority at the expense of all popular rights.

By emphasizing this point, that the oppression was the work of the King and one party, not of the whole people, a great deal of the ill feeling may be prevented, or rather diverted to its proper object. And in failing to emphasize this, some books are decidedly at fault.

But the chief trouble lies in injudicious heat of language. In this may well lie the root of all the prejudice. The writer has already pointed out that a school history, written for the side that suffered the grievance, must be moderate, must even understate the causes of resentment. Charred wood kindles easily. And every such word as "tyrant," "oppressor," "slave," "arrogant," is a spark applied to fuel that is but too ready for the flame.

Such passages as the following are, for this reason, dangerous:

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The troops burned the Capitol and other public buildings. After this act of vandalism they withdrew to their shipping.

After committing shocking brutalities at Hampton, the fleet sailed for the West Indies.

England treated the settlers as an inferior class of people. Her intention was to make and keep the colonies dependent. The laws were framed to favor the English manufacturer and merchant at the expense of the colonist. . . . American manufactures were prohibited. Iron-works were denounced as "common nuisances;" even William Pitt, the friend of America, declared she had no right to manufacture even a nail for a horseshoe except by permission from Parliament.

The British naval officers behaved in a very high-handed way. In one instance their insolence was deservedly punished.

The employment of foreign hirelings to subdue British-born subjects became a leading cause of American hatred for the mother country.

There is no doubt but that the Boston boys were impudent sometimes. It is said that they called the red-coated soldiers "lobsters" and "bloody-backs;" but I am sure they would not have done so if they had been treated right.

These, with some exceptions, are not materially untrue. The total denotation of their words is not immoderate, but the impression is. A child, an untrained reader of any age, values assertion more than qualification. Say that B was a "tyrant" and "murderer," and, no matter how you condone his offense, the opprobrium of the term will stick. And, in a school history, no amount of explanatory justice—a gentle, unassertive, uninteresting thing—can overcome the effect of a few striking terms of denunciation.

Let us grant that these terms fit. Let us grant that they were used freely by the writers and orators of the period the history tells of. The historian should still hesitate before putting them into a book for young readers. His object should not be to reproduce too vividly the passions of the past. He should aim rather to impress lessons, to point out principles. And he must bear always in mind that it is better to avoid abusive epithets than to trust to neutralizing them by uninteresting qualification, which the reader will "skip" or forget. It is the dramatic, sensational, denunciatory passages that are remembered, that form, not just opinion, but ineradicable impression.

Many historians might justify the use of such terms by the fact that they were quoted from the writers and speakers of the time. That has little bearing on their fitness for introduction into juvenile history. They were words written in the heat of passion. Revolutionary days were exciting—more exciting, even, than our recent election; and those who remember the bitter intolerance of but a few months past will see that men in the heat of a fierce contest were not likely to abate a stirring appeal, a glowing invective, for any considerations of Christian moderation or ultimate equity. On both sides abuse ran riot. Pitt denounced the war carried on by Great Britain as "a most accursed, wicked, barbarous, cruel, unnatural, and diabolical war;" while the Tory "Massachusettensis," on the King's side, declared the rebellion of the colonists to be "unnatural, causeless, wanton, wicked." This is the language of a quarrel, and to quote it on either side gives an impression unduly violent. The English historians have charitably forbore to quote "Massachusettensis" against us. Might not Americans reciprocate by forbearing to quote Pitt?

It is to be noticed that quotation from both sides results, not in neutralization, but in doubling the effect.


Tell a boy, "Your father says that John Smith is a thief," and you will hardly restore good feeling by adding, "And John Smith says that your father is a liar." Yet some historians have tried to neutralize American abuse of England with English abuse of America!

To a mature reader the appearance of vehemence on both sides might prove suggestive, and impel to further investigation. But children, like the more emotional of their elders, cannot easily be induced even to consider the other side, least of all by abuse of their own side. They are instinctive partisans. Naturally they take the side of their country, and, once settled in their allegiance, a love of dramatic contrast, dualism, Manicheism—be it what it may—impels them to exalt blindly their own cause into faultlessness, to put God on their side and the devil on the other. If the Americans were right, they were heroes. If the English were wrong, they were monsters. The child knows no middle way. He cannot serve two masters. He loves the one and hates the other with his whole heart.

Yet it is hard to restrain the tendency to dramatic quotation, to forego the fervid eloquence of Patrick Henry and the other patriots whose words kindled the Revolution. Who, for example, would not be startled at the thought of omitting from our histories the Declaration of Independence, the grand old document whose fiery words have thrilled many a young American on Independence

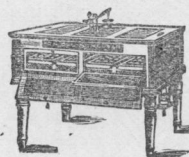
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Day. Very natural, indeed, and very vigorous would be the complaint were it excluded. Yet a reading of this document alone—unless neutralized by the most careful teaching—is enough to kindle in the child reader an unreasoning and ineradicable hatred of the British oppressor. He will read this: "He [King George III.] is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the work of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy, the head of a civilized nation." And, a little further on: "He has excited domestic insurrection amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontier the merciless Indian savages whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions."

So long as our school histories quote such passages, without vivid qualification, so long will children learn from them a hatred of England and of England's flag. Not that the words are to be censured. They express the spirit of the patriots who uttered them. But they were uttered under provocation. They should not be permitted to revive, in the reader of to-day, the rancor, the passion, that should have died out a century ago. To partake of the patriotism of the past, the boy of to-day need not partake also of its resentment, its sense of injury. Its patriotic devotion, the noble aims of the men of seventy-six—that is what we must preserve; the rest should be forgotten.

There is one additional cause of the bitter feeling. The average teacher is not a student of history, and aims rather at interesting and at impressing salient facts than at giving a just impression of a period. A sensational statement, as every journalist knows, is more attractive,

more easily remembered, than the moderate fact. And the teacher, exaggerating to add "human interest," misses what she should really teach—the sober truth of history. The same is true, to a considerable degree, of Revolutionary readers and kindred books. But they hardly come within the scope of Mr. Plimsoll's arraignment.

These, then, seem the chief factors in the creation of prejudice against England: First, omission of matter in favor of the English; second, quotation of the more violent partisan language of the time, on both sides; third, failure to allow for the natural intolerance of a young reader; fourth, intensification of the evil by well-meaning but injudicious teachers.

So, without the misstatements that Mr. Plimsoll alleges, our school-books give ground for his complaint. They give the American boy premises on which to found a very active hate of England. The remedy is hard to find. Probably it lies, for the future historian, in judicious omission of violent language, in judicious insertion of arguments on the English side, in judicious vigilance against boyish intolerance, in watchful insistence that teachers shall know more of the subject than is contained in the text-book. Already there has been improvement. More may be expected. Time itself is a potent factor, and, when we are once into a new century, will soften the asperities of a grievance that is not ours, that must not be handed down to another generation. The day of the hereditary vendetta is over. We have no call for revenge against England and Englishmen, much reason for kindness. And this kindness it is for our teachers and writers of text books, to inspire. Without this, arbitration treaties can be but a farce. With it the possibilities are infinite.

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